1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Northeast Brazil SO1

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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaqueiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
•[541] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
[794] to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
once. As a rule, however, church services are attended sep-
arately, the wives and daughters going together and the men
singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings
with friends in the house, such as are common to North Amer-
ican small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only trav-
eling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with rel-
atives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go
shopping.

*565 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated
871 than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are
nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in
Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there.
Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Re-
côncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they
are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
*565 present generation are studying for degrees in law and med-
icine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
[867] none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
[582] freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
*565 marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
582 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
875 There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôn-
cavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the
schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-
good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Re-
côncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both
schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and
alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the
factory workers, who constitute the major part of the pop-
[184] ulation. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

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gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

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The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Peruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

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[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

[15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOII Bahia Brazilians SOII

giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de cansás* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia .... have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats .... these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *cansás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533] [541] [204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or

*563 562 829 192 826 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,